

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W
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O R 180020Z JUN 75

FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 9853

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

RUESUA /AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO 2697

AMCONSUL SAO PAULO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BRASILIA 4875

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: ENRG, PARM, GW, BR

SUBJECT: BRAZIL-FRG NUCLEAR ACCORD

REF: A. STATE 139483; B. STATE 139953; C. BRASILIA 4641;

1. IN INTRODUCING THE PRESENTATION TO FOREIGN MINISTER SILVEIRA CALLED FOR IN REF (A), I STATED THAT I HAD BEEN ASKED BY THE DEPT TO DISCUSS THE CURRENT ISSUE OF THE FRG-GOB ACCORD IN ORDER TO MINIMIZE MISUNDERSTANDINGS, OF WHICH THERE SEEMED TO BE MANY. I THEN PROCEEDED TO READ FROM A TALKING POINTS PAPER DRAWN FROM REF (A)N WITH MODIFICATIONS DESCRIBED IN PARA 2 AND WITH PARENTHETICAL COMMENTS DESCRIBED IN PARA 3.

2. THE TALKING POINTS PAPER WAS ORGANIZED AS FOLLOWS:

-PARA 1: SAME AS PARA 2A OF REF (A).

-PARA 2: SAME AS PARA 2B.

-PARA 3: NEW TEXT AS FOLLOWS:

"OUR POLICIES THAT REFLECT THOSE CONCERNS ARE
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NOT DIRECTED AGAINST BRAZIL SPECIFICALLY OR INDEED AGAINST

ANY GROUPING OF COUNTRIES. WE ARE TRYING TO ADVANCE A PRINCIPLE, ONE THAT WE BELIEVE HAS GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS."

-PARA 4: NEW TEXT EXPANDING ON PARA 2C, AS FOLLOWS:

"OUR DIALOGUE ON NUCLEAR MATTERS, INCLUDING PROLIFERATION, HAS BEEN QUITE CLOSE: TWO SPECIAL TRIPS TO DISCUSS THESE MATTERS IN BRAZIL (ERLEWINE AND MARTIN). WE HAD HOPED AND EXPECTED TO BROADEN AND DEEPEN THIS DIALOGUE WHEN THE USG INVITED UEKI AND PAULO NOGUEIRA BATISTA IN EARLY MARCH --THREE MONTHS AGO--TO VISIT THE US FOR 'FULL AND FRANK HIGH-LEVEL EXAMINATION OF ALL ASPECTS OF US NUCLEAR POLICY THAT MIGHT AFFECT THE EXPANDING BRAZILIAN NUCLEAR ENERGY PROGRAMS AND NEEDS. MOREOVER, US OFFICIALS WILL CERTAINLY BE PREPARED TO EXAMINE SPECIFIC TEHCNICAL QUESTIONS RELATED TO CURRENT OR PROSPECTIVE NUCLEAR AGREEMENTS BETWEEN BRAZIL AND THE US, WHICH YOU AND YOUR STAFF MAY CONSIDER IT ADVISABLE TO RAISE.' UNFORTUNATELY, MINISTER UEKI HAS BEEN UNABLE TO SET A DATE FOR THE VISIT, WHICH OF COURSE IS STILL OPEN. IN ANY EVENT, WE HOPE AND EXPECT TO BROADEN THE DIALOGUE IN THE FUTURE."

-PARA 5: SAME AS PARA 2D.

-PARA 6: SAME AS PARA 2E, WITH THE ADDITION OF THE FOLLOWING INSERT AFTER "FRG" IN FIRST SENTENCE: "WITH WHICH, MOREOVER, WE HAVE HAD A LONG ASSOCIATION IN THE NUCLEAR FIELD."

-PARA 7: SAME AS PARA 2F, WITH THE FOLLOWING CHANGE:
"SUCH AN EXTENSIVE TRANSFER OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY, WHICH CAN HAVE GREAT IMPORTANCE AS A PRECEDENT."

-PARA 8: SAME AS PARA 2G.

-PARA 9: SAME AS PARA 2H.

3. THE EXCHANGES BETWEEN SILVEIRA AND ME ON EACH PARA OF THE TALKING POINTS PAPER FOLLOW:
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A. PARA 1: I POINTED OUT THAT THE STATEMENTS FROM USG SPOKESMEN IN WASHINGTON HAD BEEN THE MINIMUM REQUIRED TO RESPOND TO PRESSING INQUIRIES AND THAT, OF COURSE, NEITHER I NOR ANYONE ELSE IN THE EMBASSY HAD SAID ANYTHING AT ALL LOCALLY FOR PUBLICATION. FOR HIS PART, SILVEIRA SAID THAT THE GOB ("WE" IN HIS WORDS) HAD SAID NOTHING BEYOND HIS OFFICIAL STATEMENT OF JUNE 3. (I DID NOT COMMENT AT THIS

DISINGENUOUS REMARK.) HE SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT DID NOT WANT THE MATTER TO BECOME "EMOTIONAL." (NOTE: THE BELGIAN AMBASSADOR--PROTECT--TOLD ME LAST EVENING THAT OUR GERMAN COLLEAGUE HAD INFORMED HIM THAT HE AND BONN WERE VERY UPSET ABOUT THE BRAZILIAN PRESS COMMENTARY AND HAD BEEN TRYING TO GET THE COB TO PUT THE DAMPER ON.)

B. PARA 2: SILVEIRA NODDED BUT MADE NO COMMENT.

C. PARA 3 (NEW PARA): I INTRODUCED THIS POINT BY STRESSING ITS IMPORTANCE. WHEN I READ THE PARA, SILVEIRA NODDED, BUT MADE NO COMMENT.

D. PARA 4: WHEN I REFERRED TO THE UNFORTUNATE FACT THAT UEKI HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO SET A DATE FOR HIS VISIT PROPOSED BY US THREE MONTHS AGO, SILVEIRA INTERRUPTED TO SAY: "HE'S GOING; HE'S GOING IN JULY. I JUST TALKED TO HIM THIS MORNING." WHEN I FINISHED THE REST OF THE PARA, SILVEIRA STATED THAT THE PRESIDENT AND HE DID NOT WANT THIS MATTER TO AFFECT THE BRAZILIAN-US RELATIONSHIP. I SAID THAT I WAS VERY PLEASED TO HEAR IT, BECAUSE THIS WAS CERTAINLY OUR OWN STRONG DESIRE.

E. PARA 5: SILVEIRA MADE NO COMMENT.

F. PARA 6: WHEN I CAME TO THE POINT ABOUT OUR NOT PURSUING COMMERCIAL ADVANTAGE, I REMARKED THAT BRAZILIAN PRESS REACTION ON THIS POINT, SOME OF IT ATTRIBUTED TO GOVERNMENT SPOKESMEN, WAS VERY WIDE OF THE MARK AND WAS ANNOYING BECAUSE OF ITS OBVIOUS INACCURACY. SILVEIRA REPEATED THAT THE GOB DID NOT WANT TO HAVE EMOTION ENTER INTO THE QUESTION.

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ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

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RUESUA /AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO 2698
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BRASILIA 4875

EXDIS

G. PARA 7: AT THE APPROPRIATE POINT, I EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PRECEDENTIAL NATURE OF THE AGREEMENT TO US, LINKING THE COMMENT BACK TO PARA 3. SILVEIRA SAID HE UNDERSTOOD. OTHERWISE, SILVEIRA MADE NO COMMENT ON THE PARA.

H. PARA 8: SILVEIRA INTERRUPTED AFTER THE FIRST SENTENCE TO SAY THAT BRAZIL WAS A "SERIOUS" NATION AND THAT IT WAS "NOT INTERESTED" IN NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS. I SAID THAT I ASSUMED HE WAS REFERRING TO ASSURANCES IN TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT RATHER THAN MAKING A STATEMENT ABOUT NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS IN GENERAL. HE REPEATED HIS EARLIER FORMULATION WORLD FOR WORD. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT TECHNICALLY "IT ISN'T POSSIBLE" SINCE THE ENRICHMENT SYSTEM THEY WERE GETTING COULD ONLY ENRICH TO TWO PER CENT. I REPLIED THAT I HAD READ THAT IT COULD GO TO THREE PER CENT OR PERHAPS A LITTLE BETTER AND THAT IN ANY CASE THE PROCESS COULD BE EXTENDED TO REACH HIGHER LEVELS. CONCERNING THE LAST PART OF THE PARA, I OBSERVED THAT THE REFERENCE WAS TO THE FACT THAT THE USG HAD AN OPEN MIND--AS I HAD STATED IN MY APRIL 25 LETTER TO UEKI (ON THE BECHTEL/UEA OVERSELL)--ABOUT FOREIGN GOVERNMENT PARTICIPATION IN THE NEXT ENRICHMENT PLANT IN THE US AND ABOUT THE EVENTUAL ESTABLISHMENT OF REGIONAL MULTI-NATION FACILITIES. I POINTED OUT THAT THIS POSSIBILITY HAD CONFIDENTIAL

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BEEN DISCUSSED EXTENSIVELY, AS HE UNDOUBTEDLY KNEW, IN THE GENEVA NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE. HE NODDED AGREEMENT. I WENT ON TO SAY THAT IT WAS RELEVANT AND IMPORTANT FOR ME TO ADDRESS HERE ANOTHER ASPECT OF BRAZILIAN REACTION, THAT ALLEGING THAT THE UNITED STATES WAS TRYING TO STIFLE THE BRAZILIAN DEVELOPMENT NEED FOR POWER FROM NUCLEAR SOURCES. I SAID THAT WE FULLY UNDERSTOOD THE BRAZILIAN DESIRE TO GO TO NUCLEAR-BASED POWER AND WE SUPPORTED IT. I ADDED THAT, IN THE LIGHT OF OUR CONCERNS ABOUT PROLIFERATION, WE WERE LOOKING CLOSELY AT THE REGIONAL, MULTINATIONAL FACILITY AS A PROMISING ROUTE THAT COULD LEAD TO A RESOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM. SILVEIRA, WHO HAD FOLLOWED ALL OF THIS VERY CLOSELY, ASKED: "LIKE THE EUROPEAN SYSTEM--EURODIF?" I REPLIED THAT IT MIGHT BE SOMETHING LIKE THAT.

I. PARA 9: SILVEIRA ASKED WHETHER THE NEW DRAFT WAS READY, AND I REPLIED THAT WASHINGTON WAS WORKING ON IT.

4. ABOUT TWO-THIRDS OF THE WAY THROUGH THE PRESENTATION, I ASKED SILVEIRA, WHO HAD REQUESTED ME SEVERAL TIMES TO GO BACK OVER POINTS, WHETHER IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF I WERE TO LEAVE HIM A COPY OF MY TALKING POINTS. HE SAID IT WOULD BE VERY HELPFUL BECAUSE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SUBJECT. THE PAPER I LEFT BEARS A CONFIDENTIAL CLASSIFICATION.

5. I TOLD SILVEIRA THAT I WOULD BE GLAD TO PURSUE WITH HIM ANY POINTS IN THE TALKING PAPER THAT, UPON STUDY, HE WAS PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN.

6. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH THE CONVERSATION WILL NOT AND COULD NOT BRING ABOUT CHANGES IN THE GOB'S CURRENT POSITION ON THE AGREEMENT AND ALTHOUGH SILVEIRA'S COMMENTS ON BRAZIL'S LACK OF INTEREST IN NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS WERE CAREFUL AND CANNOT BE INTERPRETED AS CONSTITUTING ANY ADVANCE, I CONSIDER THE DISCUSSION, WHICH WAS ENTIRELY CORDIAL AND RELAXED, TO HAVE BEEN DEFINITELY ON THE POSITIVE SIDE. HIS STATEMENT ON THE PRESIDENT'S AND HIS DESIRE THAT THE CONTROVERSY NOT AFFECT US-BRAZILIAN RELATIONS WAS IN ITSELF GRATIFYING--EVEN THOUGH HIS PROTESTATIONS ABOUT THE GOB HANDLING OF THE PRESS WERE NOT. BEYOND THAT, OUR HAVING NOW LAID OUT WITH CONSIDERABLE FORTHRIGHTNESS AND CLARITY OUR POSITION
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AND THE CONCERNS THAT GOVERN IT--AND OUR HAVING REFUTED IN A REASONED WAY SOME OF THE ALLEGATIONS THAT HAVE PRODUCED ATTACKS ON US--HAVE PROVIDED A GOOD BASIS FOR FOLLOW-UP AND HAVE AT LEAST BROKEN THE MUTUAL SILENCE.

7. SPECIFICALLY, I BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE VERY TIMELY TO HAVE A LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY TO SILVEIRA. THE LETTER SHOULD REFER TO THE GOOD CONVERSATION THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND I HAD AND THEN HIGHLIGHT, IN A RECAST FORM OBVIOUSLY, SELECTED POINTS MADE IN MY PRESENTATION. THE SECRETARY'S LETTER SHOULD, OF COURSE, WELCOME SILVEIRA'S REFERENCE TO HIS AND PRESIDENT GEISEL'S INTEREST IN NOT LETTING THE ISSUE AFFECT OUR RELATIONS AND STATE THAT THE IS PRESIDENT FORD'S AND THE SECRETARY'S STRONG WISH ALSO, IN KEEPING WITH OUR CONSTANT PURPOSE TO MAINTAIN AND STRENGTHEN THE RELATIONSHIP WITH BRAZIL. THE LETTER, OF COURSE, SHOULD BE AS FRIENDLY AS ITS PREDECESSORS HAVE BEEN, BUT I THINK IT VERY IMPORTANT TO AVOID ANY TONE OF APOLOGY OR HAND-WRINGING WHEN THE ESSENTIAL POINTS ARE BEING RE-MADE. INSTEAD, THE GENERAL SPIRIT THAT SHOULD INFORM THE LETTER IS ONE OF SOBER RECOGNITION OF DIVERGENT INTERESTS THAT EACH SIDE HAS TO ADVANCE BUT THAT CAN BE DISCUSSED AND, IN PART, ACCOMMODATED, WITHIN THE STRUCTURE OF OUR FIRM AND MATURE FRIENDSHIP.

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